

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 /121 W
-----096688 140628Z /14

O 140410Z MAR 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0026
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, RH
SUBJECT: DEVELOPMENTS ON DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTIONS

REF: USUN 886

1. SUMMARY. EIGHT NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL MARCH 13 INTRODUCED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON RHODESIA BASED ON AFRICAN DRAFT CONTAINED USUN 878. WESTERN FIVE AGREED TO MAKE ANOTHER EFFORT
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WITH AFRICANS TO SECURE REVISIONS. EARLIER AFRICANS HAD REJECTED BRITISH DRAFT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION IN SC OF REVISED AFRICAN RESOLUTION BY EIGHT NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS (SEPTEL), WESTERN FIVE MET TO CONSIDER NEW TACTICAL SITUATION. RICHARD, SUGGESTED BEST COURSE WAS TO SUBMIT AMENDMENTS,

WHICH WOULD PROBABLY NOT RECEIVE NECESSARY NINE VOTES
BUT WOULD CLEARLY PLACE ON RECORD WHAT FIVE COULD
SUPPORT. HE THOUGHT AMENDMENT MIGHT CALL FOR DELETION OF
OPER PARAS 2, 3 AND 4 OF NON-ALIGNED DRAFT AND
SUBSTITUTION OF OPER PARAS 2, 3 AND 4 OF BRITISH DRAFT.
HE NOTED UK DID NOT LIKE REF TO "ALL MEASURES NECESSARY"
IN OPER PARA 5 BUT
THOUGHT HE COULD POINT OUT IN STATEMENT THAT BRITAIN
INTERPRETED THIS AS NOT CALLING FOR USE OF FORCE.

3. IN DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED, BRITISH EXPLAINED
THE DIFFICULTIES THEY HAVE WITH VARIOUS PROVISIONS OF
RESOLUTION AS FOLLOWS.

- A) BRITISH CANNOT CALL INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
"UNACCEPTABLE". RICHARD SUGGESTED THEY MIGHT BE ABLE
TO CALL IT "SERIOUSLY INADEQUATE" AND POSSIBILITY WAS
DISCUSSED OF TRYING TO REVISE PARA LONG LINES OF PARA 4
OF REVISED BRITISH RESOLUTION (SEE BELOW), BUT IT WAS
AGREED THAT THIS WOULD NOT MEET AFRICANS' DESIRES.
FIVE FINALLY CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS VIRTUALLY NO
PROSPECT FOR REACHING AGREEMENT WITH AFRICANS ON
WORDING FOR THIS PARAGRAPH.

- B) FIFOOT (UK) SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN LEGAL
PROBLEMS UK HAS WITH WORDING OF PARA 3. HE SAID
BRITISH POSITION IS THAT IT IS NOT FOR SC TO SAY
HOW LEGALITY CAN BE RESTORED IN RHODESIA. THIS IS
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FOR BRITISH PARLIAMENT TO DETERMINE. WORDING
STIPULATING "REPLACEMENT OF ITS MILITARY AND
POLICE FORCES" AS CRITERION FOR LEGALITY OF SOLUTION
THUS GIVES BRITISH GREAT PROBLEM. ALL AGREED THAT
DELETION OF THIS WORDING WOULD LEAVE PARAGRAPH
RATHER NONSENSICAL, BUT REVISION THAT TOOK CARE
OF BRITISH PROBLEM WAS CONSIDERED POSSIBLE. WHETHER
FORMULATION COULD BE FOUND THAT WAS ALSO ACCEPTABLE
TO AFRICANS WAS NOT CLEAR, BUT FIVE CONSIDERED
IT WORTH A TRY.

- C) IN OPER PARA 4 BRITISH CANNOT
ACCEPT FINAL WORDS: "UNDER UN SUPERVISION" SINCE
THEY CONSIDER THIS WOULD MEAN THE UN WOULD CONTROL
THE ELECTION PROCESS, NOT THE UK AS ADMINISTERING
POWER. AFTER SUGGESTIONS OF "OBSERVATION" OR
"MONITORING" WERE DISCUSSED, RICHARD SAID HE
THOUGHT THEY COULD ACCEPT "WITH APPROPRIATE UN
PARTICIPATION".

- D) BRITISH WOULD PREFER "ALL APPROPRIATE
MEASURES" IN OPER PARA 5, IN PLACE OF "ALL MEASURES
NECESSARY".

- E) IN OPER PARA 6 BRITISH WOULD PREFER

"ALL THE PARTIES" IN PLACE OF "THE PARTIES CONCERNED"
SINCE IT IS ASSUMED LATTER PHRASE IS DESIGNED TO
EXCLUDE SMITH AND NATIONALISTS ASSOCIATED WITH HIM
IN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THIS CHANGE AND THAT IN
PARA 5 DO NOT, HOWEVER, SEEM TO BE POINTS ON
WHICH THEY WOULD INSIST.

4. FIVE FINALLY AGREED THAT EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE
WITH AFRICANS TO NEGOTIATE DIFFERENCES DOWN TO MINIMUM
POINT. SOME POSSIBILITY SEEMS TO EXIST FOR ACHIEVING
AGREEMENT ON ALL PROVISIONS EXCEPT OPER PARA 2, ALTHOUGH
PARA 3 ALSO PRESENTS MAJOR DIFFICULTY. AT RICHARD'S
SUGGESTION, IT WAS AGREED THAT MCHENRY SHOULD SOULD(#)
OUT AFRICANS ON POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS AND
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FIVE WOULD MEET AGAIN AT 11:00 MARCH 14.

NOTE BY OC/T: (#)AS RECEIVED.

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5. NONE OF THE FIVE WERE ABLE TO SAY HOW THEY WOULD VOTE ON NON-ALIGNED TEXT AS IT NOW STANDS. SINCE VOTE ON IT IS POSSIBLE MARCH 14, REQUEST CONTINGENCY INSTRUCTIONS IN EVENT NO REVISIONS ARE MADE.

6. AT MORNING MEETING OF FIVE MARCH 13, RICHARD HAD PRESENTED REVISED WORDING TO NEW PARA 4 OF BRITISH RESOLUTION REPORTED REFTEL. BARTON (CANADA) POINTED OUT "GUARANTEE" LANGUAGE IMPLIED SALISBURY AGREEMENT COULD RESULT IN A SETTLEMENT THAT CONFORMS TO PARA 3. HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE PROVOCATIVE TO AFRICANS. FIVE AGREED ON NEW REVISION, AS FOLLOWS: "CONSIDERS THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THE CRITERIA SET FORTH IN

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PARAGRAPH 3 OF THIS RESOLUTION, THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN SALISBURY ON 3 MARCH 1978 ARE INADEQUATE." HOWEVER, DURING TELECON WITH LONDON SUBSEQUENTLY, RICHARD WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO PROCEED WITH THIS LANGUAGE, PENDING CLEARANCE WITH OWEN, AND INSTEAD LONDON PROPOSED FOLLOWING NEW WORDING TO REPLACE LANGUAGE AFTER "INADEQUATE": "TO ENSURE THAT THE PRINCIPLES SET OUT IN PARA 3 OF THIS RESOLUTION ARE FULLY IMPLEMENTED."

7. MCHENRY PRESENTED THREE DEPT SUGGESTIONS SET FORTH PARA 5 OF STATE 63438. RICHARD ACCEPTED FIRST AND THIRD BUT WAS RELUCTANT ON SECOND, AND IT WAS NOT INCORPORATED. LATER, LONDON ALSO WITHHELD AUTHORIZATION FOR HIM TO MAKE THIRD CHANGE--IN OPER PARA 3(A)-- PENDING FURTHER STUDY, AND IT WAS NOT INCORPORATED IN TEXT GIVEN TO AFRICANS. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IF WE ADOPT RICHARD SUGGESTION, ABOVE, TO SUBMIT PARAS 2, 3 AND 4 OF BRITISH DRAFT AS AMENDMENTS TO NON-ALIGNED DRAFT, IT IS NOT NOW CLEAR WHETHER OUR REVISION WOULD BE INCORPORATED OR NOT.)

8. FRENCH STATED THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT REFERENCE TO GA RESOLUTION 1514(XV) IN OPER PARA 2, IN LINE WITH LONG-STANDING POSITION. ALL AGREED FINAL WORDS "IN ACCORDANCE WITH GA RESOLUTION 1514(XV)" COULD BE DELETED, ENDING SENTENCE AFTER "INDEPENDENCE".

9. MCHENRY THEN PRESENTED REVISIONS TO AFRICAN

DRAFT SUGGESTED IN STATE 63438. OTHERS ASSUMED
THEY WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO AFRICANS, BUT
MCHENRY NOTED THEIR PRESENTATION WOULD INDICATE WE
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HAD NOT IGNORED AFRICAN TEXT AND WERE PREPARED TO
NEGOTIATION ON BASIS OF IT.

10. ALL AGREED RICHARD SHOULD MAKE APPROACH TO
RAMPHUL AND SALIM. WHEN GROUP REASSEMBLED PRIOR
TO AFTERNOON SC MEETING RICHARD REPORTED THAT SALIM
HAD NOT TURNED UP FOR MEETING. RAMPHUL HAD EXPRESSED
DIFFICULTIES WITH PARA 4, EMPHASIZING AFRICAN DESIRE
FOR CLEAR STATEMENT THAT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS
UNACCEPTABLE AND ILLEGAL. HE HAD
AGREED TO CONSULT THE AFRICAN GROUP
ON THE TEXT, HOWEVER, RICHARD HAD NOT PRESENTED
US SUGGESTIONS FOR REVISION OF AFRICAN DRAFT,
HE SAID, BECAUSE UK COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT DRAFT
EVEN WITH OUR REVISIONS.

11. AFRICAN GROUP MET TO CONSIDER BRITISH RESOLUTION
JUST PRIOR TO SC MEETING. BEFORE COUNCIL CONVENED
WE LEARNED FROM RAMPHUL AND OTHERS THAT
BRITISH TEXT WAS UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT
NON-ALIGNED WOULD INTRODUCE RESOLUTION DURING MEETING.
ONLY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE FROM AFRICAN DRAFT WAS
REVISION OF OPER PARA 1 (DETAILS SEPTEL). YOUNG

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Message Attributes

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